S. O. S. BY FRANCOIS MAURIAC

THE Nation

April 16, 1955
20c

Let's Talk About Peace

by Senator Estes Kefauver

Quemoy — or Asia? The Choice Is Ours

by O. Edmund Clubb

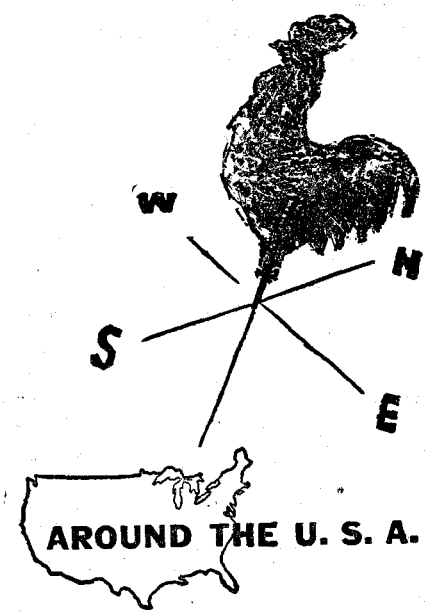
The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Mr. Bevan Remains — *Michael Foot*

Britain Without Churchill — *H. K. Smith*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Spring in California Stirs the Grass Roots

Fresno, California

IT'S spring on the West Coast, and the grass roots are sprouting along with other growing things. This was evidenced at the second annual convention of the California Democratic Council, which was attended by more than a thousand delegates from Democratic clubs throughout the state. Born of necessity to counteract the party blurring that results from cross-filing, the Council seeks to build party consciousness by work in individual precincts, and the purpose of the convention was to hammer out a program.

It was a working assembly, indulging in a minimum of glad-hand carousing and a maximum of idea exchange and creative effort. Committee meetings were thronged and continued till dawn. The exhaustive discussions kept the convention in session five and a half hours beyond the scheduled time for adjournment. Even after the closing banquet on Saturday night a meeting of the by-laws committee attracted a standing-room-only audience, festively dressed but seriously debating the technical points that would put spine into this still amorphous body.

The tone was set, interestingly enough, not by the keynote speaker, National Committee Chairman Paul M. Butler, but by the 1954 nominee for Governor of California, Richard Graves. Butler, in calling for party unity, urged the delegates to "work with the regular organization." Graves took exception to this and contributed a passionate and brilliant analysis of the role of the Democratic clubs and their members—whom he called the conscience of the organization—in guiding a truly democratic party to victory. He was given a tremendous ovation, as was Edward Roybal, the 1954 candidate for Lieutenant Governor, who was nominated without the blessing of the "regular organization." Samuel Yorty, hand-picked nominee for the Senate in 1954, was accorded only perfunctory applause. That is not to say that there was a rift between delegates and leaders. Rather, the "sleeping giant"—to use Roybal's expression—was flexing his muscles and indicating that he intended to be heard.

The temper of the delegates could also be gauged by the speeches of politically astute aspirants for positions in the Council. All emphasized their liberal record, their dedication to the club movement, their interest in F. E. P. C., labor, civil liberties, and peace. As though there were no current madness, no cringing and expunging and disowning, liberal records and liberal convictions were proudly proclaimed.

FLOOR fights were frequent. There was little rubber-stamping. Committee reports were challenged, returned for revision, amended. The credentials committee ran the gauntlet almost immediately when it brought in an extensively documented recommendation against seating a Berkeley delegation on the ground that it was not a bona fide club and its roster was padded. After lengthy and heated debate the committee was instructed to reconvene and reconsider. The revised report, which recommended that part of the delegation be seated, elicited tremendous applause. For most of those present it was the symbol of a problem resolved democratically.

Another dramatic contest occurred when the political-action program was offered for approval. Among the items were election reform, an end to cross-filing, apportionment of state taxes on the basis of ability to pay, state-supported child-care centers, F. E. P. C., and opposition to "bluff and bluster" foreign policy. Also included was a declaration on civil liberties upholding the right of criticism, the right to express unpopular opinions, and the right of dissent. Several of the caucuses felt that the general statement was not sufficient in view of the fact that the California legislature is now considering the Burns and Chapel bills, which propose to revoke the license of any business or professional man who refuses to answer political questions before any legislative committee.

An effort was then made to raise this issue by way of resolution, but by a curious parliamentary maneuver resolutions were ruled out. An amendment criticizing the bills was therefore offered to the program committee's report, and a large proportion of the delegates stayed on into the last late hours to get this passed. It was a hot fight, with the final vote overwhelmingly for the amendment and against the bills. It is interesting to note that this was accomplished although Senator Hugh Burns, who introduced one of the bills, hails from Fresno and delivered the welcoming address at the convention banquet.

Yes, it's spring in California, and perhaps the grass roots will put forth such positive policies and programs that a Democratic slate can be elected in this state where, despite a preponderantly Democratic registration, Republican victories are the rule.

NANCY REEVES

[Nancy Reeves, member of the New York and California bars, is a free-lance writer on legal and political subjects.]

Reprints Available

DEPORTATION DELIRIUMS

by Laurent Frantz

In response to many requests, this powerful article by Laurent Frantz has been reprinted. Prices for the eight-page pamphlet are: 10 cents per copy; $1 for 11 copies; $7 for one hundred. Send your orders to: Reprint Department, The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 16
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 16, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Let's Talk About Peace . . *by Estes Kefauver*

THE Congress has written a blank check for the President in dealing with the Formosa situation. It was done at his request and principally to demonstrate the unity of the nation. But the fact that the Formosa resolution exists places a burden and responsibility on the President of the United States which I expect he will one day regret he has. There are forces in his Administration so powerful and apparently so eager for a war with China that they are becoming almost impossible to resist. That the United States should be plunged into war over Matsu and Quemoy ought to be unthinkable. Yet there are those in high places who are plotting to bring such a war about, whatever the risks.

President Eisenhower has himself wisely limited the final decision as to the United States action. But the conclusion is inescapable that the present war party is attempting to create a situation in which the President would have no choice but to follow them.

These plotters tell us that we can fight a limited war with China without risk. They tell us that we can fight a limited war with precision atomic bombing and get away with it. There is one school which wants to blast and destroy China's industrial capacity. There is another, apparently more official school which merely wants to use atomic weapons against China's airfields.

In either case we are told that Russia will not come to the aid of its ally, China, because of fear of massive retaliation on itself. If this conclusion is based on intelligence reports rather than wishful thinking, it should be pointed out that in the Korean war, just before the entry of the Chinese Communists, either our intelligence was wrong or our interpretation of that intelligence was wrong. It should be pointed out that in the Indo-China war either our intelligence was wrong or our interpretation of that intelligence was wrong. Now, as to Russia's intentions, our intelligence, if that is what it is, can well be wrong again.

Russia is bound to Communist China by strong treaties. We know that treaties are a matter of convenience to Russia, and that if it deems it in its interest not to abide by them, it does not abide by them. But in this instance Russia's interests and those of Communist China are bound together. If Russia stood idly by while we destroyed the industry of China or even its air force, it would mean the end of Russia's hold on all its satellites. It would very probably weaken the control of the Communist leaders at home.

It is said that Russia does not now have the means of delivering atomic or hydrogen bombs on this continent, and that it would thus be paralyzed by fear of bombs that Russia knows we are now capable of delivering. I do not know that Russia cannot deliver bombs on this continent, and I doubt that anyone else knows, other than the Russians. But if it cannot, there are plenty of places vital to our interests where it is perfectly capable of delivering them.

IF QUEMOY and Matsu have become important, it is in large part the doing of military leaders in this Administration. They have encouraged the Formosan Chinese to commit a large portion of their armed forces and equipment to the defense of those islands.

I may say at this point that while we may have so-called precision atomic weapons, a possible enemy may not. If we attack with these so-called precision weapons, he may feel inclined to attack with the only kind available to him. One or two of these falling on Formosa may make debate over its defense academic.

The remarkable thing about this plotting and planning for war is that the plotters and planners must know that the vast majority of the American people are against them. The mood of America, no matter how warlike some of our leaders wish to make us seem, is deeply pacific; and, as a matter of fact, we know that we are not going to have any allies, or substantial allies, if we get into a war over Quemoy or Matsu.

In the Washington *Evening Star* of today (March 30), on the front page, appears an article by Crosby B. Noyes, European correspondent of the *Star*. It states:

> European reaction to the lively possibility of war in the Far East encourages two reasonable predictions: that our European allies will not fight to defend Chinese offshore islands from Communist attack. That war in the East will not bring about a major blowup in the Western camp.
>
> The second possibility may be beyond our control.

The article states further:

> There is also a strong tendency [among the latest European governments] to question the argument that defense of the Matsus and Quemoy is necessary to prevent the crumbling of anti-Communist morale throughout Southeast Asia. On the contrary, it is

SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER, whose speech in the Senate on March 30, 1955, is reprinted above as a "guest editorial," serves as a member of the Armed Services Committee and the Committee on the Judiciary.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

ARTICLES

Let's Talk About Peace
by Senator Estes Kefauver 317

Great Britain Without Churchill
by Howard K. Smith 319

Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman 320

Quemoy—or Asia?
The Choice Is Ours
by O. Edmund Clubb 321

Mr. Bevan Remains:
Rank-and-File Victory
by Michael Foot 323

S. O. S.:
To the Youth of France
by Francois Mauriac 325

Peace-Time Conscription:
Who Wants It?
by John W. Swomley, Jr. 326

Labor Merger:
Repercussions in Canada
by Sylvia Wiseman 328

BOOKS

Words Are Not Good Enough
by R. J. Kaufmann 330

A Free Enterpriser's Story
by Harvey O'Connor 331

New Books in Brief 332

FILMS by Robert Hatch 333

MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 335

LETTERS 336

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 615
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 336

AROUND THE U. S. A.
Spring in California Stirs the Grass Roots
by Nancy Reeves opposite 317

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams — Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz — Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein — Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo — Foreign Editor

Martin Solow — Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman — Theater
B. H. Haggin — Music
Robert Hatch — Films
Gladys Whiteside — Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting — Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund — Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon — Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, April 16, 1955, Volume 180, No. 16

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the *Post Office*, Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12, Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. **Change of Address:** Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

suggested that open intervention of the United States to save the islands would have a disastrous effect on the neutral states in far more critical areas. So far as Formosa itself is concerned, the thought is that if the Nationalist regime cannot survive loss of the offshore islands it is probably too shaky to survive long anyway.

Some people wonder at the great popularity of President Eisenhower. They express amazement that an Administration which obviously has not done very much can have such a popular leader. I believe the explanation for the President's popularity is precisely that he has not done very much. The American people are tired of war and they want a period of uninterrupted peace and quiet. The source of the President's strength appears to lie in the fact that he is not rocking the boat. I believe that the President senses this fact; if not, he had better be briefed on it. Such a briefing could well be given to the Pentagon and the State Department as well.

Although the President may not seem to be rocking the boat, the tragic fact is that in his Administration American foreign military policy has degenerated into rule by fear. The tremendous good-will shown toward our nation and our people at the end of World War II has been dissipated into the mists of history. Nobody in the State Department or the Pentagon ever talks any more about good-will or neighborliness.

Yet the simple truth is that the world cannot afford another great war. Not a standard of value that we know could survive one, even if a few pockets of people could manage to hold out against blast and fire and deadly radiation. If we get involved in a "little war" over Quemoy and Matsu, and if we then use atomic weapons, it is difficult for me to see how we can avoid a chain reaction of explosions around the world.

IT IS time we started talking, for a change, about peace. We should put in a deep, dark closet all Secretary Dulles's bellicosity. I am encouraged that, at last, exploratory talks looking toward a meeting of the great powers have begun. At that meeting, if it takes place, the discussions will doubtless not be as free and as frank as they might have been before Secretary Dulles began the era of kiss-and-tell diplomacy; but we ought to talk about peace whenever we get the occasion.

It is often said that the American people have always liked the Russian people but never liked their governments. There is also a long history of friendship and understanding between the American people and the Chinese people. We have never had any difficulty in getting along with them as a people. The people of America—and I know it very well—have a hope for peace as long, as wide, and as deep as any on earth.

These things are true. It is time that the men in the Kremlin took them into account. It is time that the men in Peking took them into account. And it is time for the men of the Pentagon, the State Department, and the White House to take them into account, too.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Great Britain Without Churchill

By HOWARD K. SMITH

London

AS SIR WINSTON is widely held to be the world's greatest statesman, an opinion this reporter certainly shares, you would expect his abandonment of power to have important consequences. Actually when you sift all the probabilities, the material effects appear likely to be few or none at all. Certainly the top level of British politics will lose some richness. But Churchill remains a member of the House, entitled to exercise his great oratory whenever he wishes. As an elder statesman still in active life, his wisdom will no doubt be sought and given as often as ever.

The British are masters of quiet, gradual, sometimes almost invisible change—and no change in recent years has been more resistless though less observed or talked about than the shift of personal power within the Conservative Cabinet. When the Conservatives came back to power in 1951, Churchill enjoyed his old unchallenged dominance. There was still validity to the story that he once answered a critic by saying, "I am not an autocrat. I do not dictate to my colleagues. I simply state my opinion about what should be done, and after due consideration they naturally agree with me." That was the situation in 1951, but steadily in the succeeding years Churchill's power in party and cabinet has been sapped away, usurped—if that is not too strong a word—by his younger colleagues led by Anthony Eden. It is probably fair to say that for some time Churchill has been almost as much a figurehead so far as policy-making is concerned as his Queen, Elizabeth II. Frequently he has been required to accept domestic policies with which he had little sympathy and foreign policies which he publicly abhorred. For example, abandonment of the Suez Canal base last year amounted in Churchill's view to the scuttling of empire. But Eden insisted that the act was necessary to his foreign policy, and R. A. Butler, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, insisted it was necessary to his economic program. So it was done, and grudgingly accepted by the old imperialist, Winston Churchill.

THE question now naturally arises: What kind of man is it that has been running British foreign affairs and, as the new Prime Minister, will decide all British governmental policies? Anthony Eden has been in the public eye for thirty years, but, curiously, not a great deal is known about him. As an accomplished diplomat he has built a kind of facade, a public personality, which has prevented gaze into his private life or real personality. Though he comes of what is known as a good old family, he is financially a poor man. Unlike most British politicians he has no characteristic hobby or avocation outside politics. He has never earned his way in the hurly-burly of private life but has always been a professional politician and has spent most of his political years in the rarefied atmosphere of the British Foreign Office. Despite the smile and the hail-fellow manner, he is an exceedingly shy man. Some say he lacks self-assurance. He cannot be called brilliant in comparison with the man he is about to displace. And he has no outstanding talents. His speeches are frequently full of platitudes.

Yet the opinion polls indicate that Eden is the most popular person in British politics today. Though Churchill is slightly better loved by a few more Tories, Eden is admired by enough Tories, Liberals, and even Laborites to get a higher mark. He is an extremely hard-working, conscientious public servant. He keeps his politics on a high level, a quality that is greatly appreciated in Britain. Above all, he has shown himself to be probably the most capable regulator of foreign affairs now alive. Single-handed, he saved the Geneva conference on Indo-China from collapse last year. He brought the Western alliance through a severe crisis when France rejected the treaties to rearm Germany last autumn. The new treaties, which France has ratified, were largely Eden's personal creation. In an age when the wise exercise of diplomacy may make just the difference in the world's survival, Eden's assumption of the reins here gives assurance to the British public and probably to the public of the nations of Western Europe.

Eden arives at the summit at a moment when his particular skills will be most needed. French ratification of the treaties—giving West Germany sovereign independence and the right to rearm—marks the end of one phase and the beginning of another in current history. New hopes have arisen. Premier Bulganin of Russia has spoken favorably of the possibility of new talks with the West. Molotov has invited the Austrian Chancellor to discuss a peace treaty, at long last, for that occupied country. At the same time, new dangers loom. The Communists in East Germany have put new restrictions on travel to and from Berlin. In the non-Communist half of Indo-China civil conflict is weakening the non-Communist forces there. The prospect of war in the Formosa Strait, increased by Communist concentrations opposite the offshore islands, has been emphasized by our far too talkative admirals in Washington. All over the world a new balance of power is seeking to establish itself. The transition from the old balance to the new will be extremely delicate. What is called for now, more than ever, is skilful diplomacy, and that is the quality in which the man scheduled to be the new Prime Minister here has hitherto excelled.

HOWARD K. SMITH, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is European director of the Columbia Broadcasting System in London.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

WHEN the Supreme Court was hearing the segregation cases last year there was one exchange between leading counsel on both sides that touched the central dilemma. Mr. John W. Davis cautioned the opponents of segregation to beware of the perils of hasty reform which might provoke a revulsion that would endanger many of the social gains won by Negroes in recent years. Mr. Thurgood Marshall replied that Mr. Davis was simply trying to persuade the court that it is unwise to interfere with any wrong provided its pedigree is sufficiently old. By a unanimous verdict the Supreme Court last May ruled that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional. But the issue raised by Mr. Davis still awaits adjudication. The court must still decide on the most orderly transition from the segregated schools to the unified system.

Three distinct points of view were brought before the court. Mr. Marshall and his colleagues argued for the swiftest transition to the nonsegregated system, for a start on a broad front by September of this year, and for the completion of the unified system by the outside date of September, 1956. The Southern states pleaded for delay, for a system of local variations which would respect the differences between various communities, and for a recognition that the problem required something more than a judicial decision for its solution. The Department of Justice, assuming a midway position, told the court that no community had the right to defy the court's ruling by claiming to exercise a local option, that even the claim of "popular hostility" had to yield to the compulsions of constitutional right, but that the court should avoid prescribing any single formula by which segregated schools would be abolished.

The court was told by opponents of segregation that there is no merit to the Southern claim that "local mores and customs justify delay which might produce a more orderly transition." The Fourteenth Amendment, as they saw it, was designed for the express purpose of providing protection against the pressure of local customs in conflict with the Constitution. They argued that church groups and others in the South who are trying to win general acceptance of the court's decision of last May "cannot be effective wthout the support of a forthwith decree" from the Supreme Court. Finally, they warned the court that gradual adjustment might lead to delays that might prove interminable; and that any uncertainty or weakness in the attitude of the Supreme Court now would at once become the signal for an obstinate rear-guard action in defense of segregation.

THE clearest case for delay was put by Virginia, which said quite bluntly that it does not foresee "a complete solution at any future time." So long as the unified system is resolutely opposed by an united majority it saw no solution either by court decree or by executive order.

The proper procedure according to Virginia was to return the cases to district courts in accordance with "very general instructions to enforce the decisions of this court while permitting the preservation of the local school system."

The Department of Justice reminded the Supreme Court that its decision last year recognized the importance of psychological and emotional factors affecting colored children forced to endure segregatd schools. In similar fashion it called on the court to recognize that "psychological and emotional factors are involved—and must be met with understanding and goodwill—in the alterations that must now take place in order to bring about compliance with the court's decision." In discussing the problem of "popular hostility" the department spoke with great frankness. It said this hostility must be faced with understanding but "it can afford no legal justification for a failure to end school segregation." The department was opposed to the proclamation of any outside date by which the unified system would become universal and mandatory. It was afraid that the interval between now and any such date would be used to build up resistance to the unified system rather than to prepare honestly for it.

The Department of Justice made an argument which will count heavily with the court when it pointed out that the Constitution, while prohibiting segregation, does not compel the adoption of any specific type of non-segregated system. It advised the court to rule that racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional and that all provisions of law requiring or permitting such segregation are invalid. It next suggested that the cases be turned back to the lower courts, which would require within ninety days a plan for ending segregation as quickly as is feasible. If a satisfactory plan is not submitted to the lower court, it would direct the admission of Negro children to non-segregated public schools at the beginning of the next school term. School authorities would be obliged to submit detailed reports to the lower courts showing what progress is being made toward the unified system. In turn, the lower courts would inform the Supreme Court of the measures being taken to comply with the Constitution.

No one studying the massive briefs before the court or listening to the involved argument can cherish the illusion that everything was settled last May 17 by the great decision of a unanimous court. But at no stage has the court shown any tendency to be impressed by the repeated claim that it would expose itself to a generation of litigation by forthright action. The decisiveness of the court's ruling rang round the world. There is nothing to suggest that it will act with less courage and wisdom now.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

QUEMOY—OR ASIA?

The Choice Is Ours . . *by O. Edmund Clubb*

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER warned Congress on January 24 that there was developing in the Formosa Strait a situation which "seriously imperils the peace and our security." Congress hastened to grant him extraordinary authority, and the Senate promptly approved the United States–Formosa treaty of alliance. By the end of March the attention of the world was focused on the Nationalist-held offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, which Admiral Carney, Chief of Naval Operations, reputedly estimated would be attacked by the Chinese Communists about mid-April. (He has since denied making such a prediction.) The crucial question was: should the United States thereupon go to war in behalf of the Nationalists?

Quemoy and Matsu, respectively about three and twelve miles from the China mainland, at the beginning of 1950 were links in an island chain stretching from the Chusan Archipelago off the mouth of the Yangtze south to Hainan Island, in the Gulf of Tonkin. The chain then constituted the defeated Nationalists' last line of defense in front of their island refuge, Formosa. The Communists captured Hainan and the Chusan group soon after; subsequently, other islands fell one after another into Communist hands, until at the end of 1954 only about twenty were left under Nationalist control; in the past three months several more have been lost or abandoned, notably Yikiangshan, Tachen, and Nanki. The chain is shattered, and there now remain only a few beleaguered points like Paichuan, Yinshan, and Quemoy and Matsu.

The Communists hold the initiative, and can be expected to select what seems the most propitious occasion to advance toward their strategic objectives. When Premier Chou En-lai on February 3 rejected the bid of the U. N. Security Council to help end hostilities around the offshore islands, he safeguarded China's freedom of maneuver.

Peking's signature of a truce agreement would have left the Nationalists in physical possession of the offshore islands and attested to the legality of their occupation of Formosa, with no quid pro quo. The United States is bound by the U. N. Charter and other treaties to refrain in its international relations from "the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations" (as the pertinent proviso reads in the S. E. A. T. O. pact), and the United States–Formosa treaty specifically delimits Taipei's jurisdiction to Formosa and the Pescadores. If Peking wanted peace in the Formosa Strait, it had only to forego attacking.

So Peking continues to assert its claim to title over Formosa. But its ambitions do not necessarily lie where the tumult is. The questions of the moment are (1) whether Quemoy and Matsu are really the Communists' immediate objective; (2) whether Peking intends, after the hypothetical capture of those two islands, to seize Formosa by direct assault; and (3) whether Formosa is, at this particular stage of Asiatic affairs, actually Peking's chief objective.

Mao Tse-tung is one of the foremost exponents of the doctrine of "protracted war." In a lecture series on the subject in 1938—the Sino-Japanese war was then one year old—he laid down the strategy to be followed for the defeat of Japanese militarism. Two prominent concepts were: disregard for territory as such in favor of advancing the overall war position, and emphasis on the importance of human power and psychology in the military equation. "Armament is an important factor in war but not the decisive factor," said Mao. "Man, not material, forms the decisive factor." Further, "War cannot be divorced from politics for a single moment." The strategy once directed against the Japanese invader will now be used, with appropriate modifications, in opposing American power along the China coast.

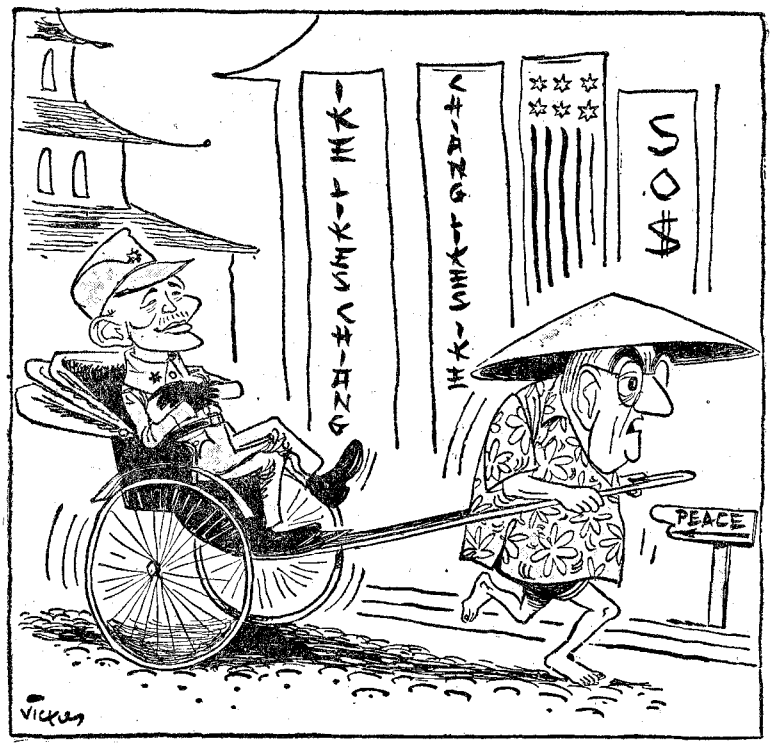
The offshore islands, comprising a few rocky acres, have little intrinsic value. Quemoy and Matsu hamper access to the ports of Amoy and Foochow, but it can hardly be argued that they are imposing starvation on the parent continent. If they were once viewed as possible springboards for a mainland invasion, that day is gone; and they are not stepping-stones on the route to Formosa. In sum, those islands are not vital for China and therefore presumably have no special priority in Peking's strategic plan.

FOR Peking's geopoliticians the impelling overall issue is not even the conquest of Formosa but the winning of non-Communist Asia to the Communist side. In steadfast pursuit of that end, they practice the ancient principle of "divide and rule." They aim at separating the United States from its allies and from its potential support in Asia and at pinning the Titan down when isolated.

To contend that Chinese skills are inadequate for the intellectual task is on the evidence inadmissible. Peking has been steadily advancing its political power and today enjoys high prestige in Asia. Korea, Tibet, and Indo-China have recently felt China's might. Geneva, New Delhi, Rangoon, and Ulan Bator were milestones on the road over which Chou En-lai progressed last year in the service of "New China." Delegations from leading capitals of Europe and Asia made their appearance at Pe-

O. EDMUND CLUBB served for twenty years in the Far East as an officer in the United States Foreign Service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Courtesy the New Statesman and Nation (London)

king in turn. The visits all testified to China's new world position, but it was perhaps certain diplomatic exchanges between India and China that held the greatest portent for Asia's future.

For the "Five Principles" enunciated jointly by Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Nehru last June are making their mark. The fifth of those principles, "peaceful coexistence," embodies the deep desire of Asians to be at peace. Coexistence will be a major theme at the Afro-Asian conference opening April 18 at Bandung, Indonesia. Nehru's speech of March 31 strongly condemning the West's creation of military alliances in Asia strikingly highlighted a current tendency in Asian thinking. That trend runs counter to a simple anti-communism stated in starkly military terms.

The Communist leaders assiduously exploit this situation. Peking and Moscow contend in unison that the United States plans war in Asia but that China is a supporter of world peace. Chou En-lai took that position when he rejected the U. N.'s overture regarding hostilities in the Formosa Strait. The Peking *People's Daily News* on February 5 and March 7 editorially beat out the same theme: "In line with their consistent stand of working for relaxation of Far Eastern tensions, the Chinese people will support all genuine international efforts to ease and eliminate the tension created by the United States in the Formosa area and other areas of the Far East." The Chinese Communists will present themselves at the Bandung conference as men of peace, badgered by a "warmongering Western imperialist."

Americans will of course find that pose preposterous, but they are not the target audience: Peking plays to Asians, who find the portrayal plausible. Worse, our Occidental allies are unsympathetic, and unbelieving, when American officials claim that the "crisis" in the Formosa Strait is entirely of Peking's making. The United Kingdom, Canada, and France have all officially shied away from the suggestion that the offshore islands are worth a major war; in fact, they have unmistakably indicated that if the United States fought over Quemoy and Matsu, it would fight alone. Japan, worth a dozen Formosas, likewise balks at being embroiled in a war in its present weakened condition.

This situation holds out to the Communists the hope of another diplomatic advance—one that might conceivably influence the disposition of the offshore islands. Mao Tse-tung is professedly a disciple of the famed Chinese strategist of the fifth century B. C., Sun Tzu, who held that "to fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting." Should Peking fail to win Quemoy and Matsu by political methods, the dangers of the American position would become critical. Peking would then be under a tactical compulsion to keep the pot of trouble boiling. By maintaining tensions in the Formosa Strait, it could keep international alarm at a level conducive to China's gaining more concessions.

BUT the danger of armed conflict in the Formosa Strait is real and not wholly simulated for political purposes. The offshore islands, once road blocks, are themselves now subject to being blockaded. Airfields are being constructed in the region. Fast Communist torpedo boats have been showing up in neighboring waters in increasing numbers. When the typhoons of June and July bring heavy seas to the Strait, it is probable that the Communists will step up operations against the Nationalist outposts.

The Communists would presumably not assault the Quemoy and Matsu strong points first but would cut off their supplies and subject them to a softening-up process while eliminating secondary Nationalist positions. But once the main action had begun, the United States could not extricate itself with any credit from the venture. It would be faced with the harsh ultimate choice of intervening to rescue the Nationalist garrisons or letting them go down with the transparent explanation that "we never actually *said* we would fight for Quemoy and Matsu"—when all Asia feels that the United States has threatened war. We could claim no victory of principle if we made a retreat only under fire.

The United States could of course elect to "go it alone" into war with China. But China has a champion—the Soviet Union. It would seem poor wisdom to gamble the fate of the American nation on an assumption that the 1950 Sino-Soviet treaty of alliance does not mean what it says. It is admittedly conceivable that the U. S. S. R. would not counter an American thrust at the China coast with blows against our positions in Okinawa, Japan,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Philippines, and the United States itself—though it is also conceivable that it would. But in any event other patterns of warfare are in use in the twentieth century. German, Italian, and Soviet military elements engaged in the Spanish civil war of the 1930's; the U. S. S. R. sent air units to fight for China against Japan in 1937-39; from 1950 to 1953 Chinese "volunteers" en masse warred against the U. N. forces in Korea. In this way, at least, major elements of the Soviet armed forces, and especially of the Red air force, would almost certainly participate in the fighting on Chinese battlefields, in the Formosa Strait, and over Formosa itself. And if the United States, having leaped into the Chinese civil war, should be confronted with "volunteer" men and material from Moscow, would it strike the first blow also against the U. S. S. R., as being one more "privileged sanctuary," and plunge a horror-stricken world into the holocaust of its deadliest, final war?

IT IS contended that the United States must persist in its present course to demonstrate to Asia that it is not a "paper tiger" and to sustain the flagging morale of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists. Neither purpose is mentioned in Congress's empowering resolution. No one would maintain, presumably, that the national interest should be sacrificed on the altar of "face"; and it is written in history that the national interest is sometimes best served by a timely retreat. A fair sampling of Asian opinion might in any event indicate that the majority of friendly Orientals would admire the United States more for a conciliatory spirit at this juncture than for a martial posture on Quemoy.

The Nationalist morale is naturally shaky. It has now depended for five years on Generalissimo Chiang's perennial promise that the exiles would return to their mainland homes within a measurable period by force of their own arms. That hope is now dead, whether or not Nationalist troops are on Quemoy and Matsu. Sitting it out until World War III is the last desperate gamble—but it too threatens to become a stale stratagem. Soon after the Indo-China truce became effective the Peking Communists stepped up their bombardment of Formosa's nerves by means of division, infiltration, and subversion. The cement that has heretofore held the jarring elements of the Nationalist regime together is now loosening. But not for want of Quemoy and Matsu.

The United States by strenuous efforts has extended its "first line of defense" to the China coast only to find that the position is politically untenable. Out on a limb over Quemoy and Matsu, the United States neglects its tried alliance with Great Britain, and ignores the most profound sentiments of Asia, in worry over Formosa's political health. Doggedly professing true-blue anti-communism, it subserves a primitive Communist tactic and widens the gulf between it and the coalition which is its strength. Hypnotized by the predicament of islands that Chiang Kai-shek refuses to evacuate, it fails to note that a whole continent is slipping out of reach of American influence. Sensitive to every minute feature of logistics and atomic power, it remains impervious to the deeper currents of Asiatic thought. It has failed to understand that the Communist target is not the Chinese offshore islands, or even Formosa, but the hearts and minds of Asians.

In weighing these developments and charting China's course, Mao Tse-tung probably again refers back to his ancient mentor, Sun Tzu: "O divine art of subtlety and secrecy! Through you we learn to be invisible, through you inaudible; and hence we can hold the enemy's fate in our hands."

MR. BEVAN REMAINS

Rank-and-File Victory . . *by Michael Foot*

London

FOR weeks on end the case of Aneurin Bevan has dominated all political discussions here and most of the headlines in the British press. Even the affairs of Princess Margaret were pushed off the front pages. News about Sir Winston Churchill's retirement, Mr. Dulles's revelations about Yalta, won their brief moment of publicity but made little impact in comparison with the Bevanite row. What was it all about? No one can really think that the dispute was solely over the personal conduct of one man. More by instinct than political analysis the press and the public seemed to agree that the controversy touched the roots of British politics today.

The spark which was alleged to have set the whole bonfire ablaze was a question posed by Mr. Bevan to Mr. Attlee, leader of the Labor Party, in the Commons debate of March 2. Bevan asked whether Mr. Attlee agreed with what appeared to be the government's official view —that the hydrogen bomb should be used first by the Western powers against any form of aggression, despite the devastating consequences that Great Britain must expect in a hydrogen-bomb war. The bulk of his speech had been devoted to a skilful indictment of the government's failure to obtain high-level talks with the Soviet leaders. So effective was the attack that it brought Sir Winston Churchill to his feet to confess for the first time the reasons for this failure. Most people who heard the speech were chiefly impressed by the earnestness

MICHAEL FOOT is a Labor Member of Parliament and joint editor of the London Tribune.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Bevan's plea for a supreme diplomatic effort to check the madness of an H-bomb arms race and his exposure that the government, while standing on its formula about "negotiation from strength," was refusing to negotiate at the precise moment when we possessed the superior strength.

WITHIN the next few hours the rumble of other questions was heard in the corridors of the House. Had not Mr. Bevan made a direct challenge to the leadership of Mr. Attlee? Had he not asked a question which should have been asked privately? And had he not caused the gravest embarrassment to the Labor Party by making his vote dependent on the reply?

Mr. Bevan has denied emphatically that any threat to Mr. Attlee was intended. He asserts that he was doing no more than exercising his right and duty as a Member of Parliament. But whatever view is taken of this incident, it is impossible to believe that the most momentous crisis to arise in the Labor Party in years was provoked by a single question in the Commons. The truth is that a section of the Labor leadership had resolved on a showdown with Bevanism and felt this to be a heaven-sent opportunity.

Against the advice of Mr. Attlee himself, Labor's Shadow Cabinet in the House of Commons resolved to act—and to act quickly. They decided on a Monday that at a special meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party on the following Wednesday the demand should be made for the "withdrawal of the whip" from Mr. Bevan. (To "withdraw the whip" is to put a member outside the parliamentary party with which he has been identified. He is then denied information concerning the party's positions and policies.) They clearly calculated that a week or two later this punishment would be followed by the more dramatic measure of expulsion from the Labor Party itself. They must have known that such action would provoke considerable commotion inside the party, since for several years past the constituency Labor parties have shown themselves overwhelmingly Bevanite in sympathy. However, it was obviously calculated that the big trade-union vote would come to their rescue. "Cut out the cancer now before it gets worse," was their theme. A few of these leaders had long held the view that Mr. Bevan was actually an electoral liability for the Labor Party. Only by drastic action could the swing toward Bevanism in the constituencies and the trade unions be halted and turned back.

Aneurin Bevan

Their plan, if such it was, misfired. Mr. Bevan was suffering from influenza, and common decency required the execution date to be postponed for a week. The interval was long enough for M. P.'s to taste the feeling of their constituents. When the vote in the Parliamentary party eventually took place, the leadership made the issue one of confidence in itself. Even so, 112 Labor M. P.'s voted against the withdrawal of the whip to 141 for it, and an amendment seeking to modify the punishment was only defeated by the narrow majority of 14. In other words, the Shadow Cabinet carried the vote of confidence in itself only by the votes of its own members.

This was a violent shock to the Parliamentary party leaders, who had reckoned on a majority of at least fifty to sixty. Outside in the country the opposition was even fiercer. Constituency Labor parties and trade-union branches poured forth protests. Their views were backed by the findings of a Gallup poll. The poll, it should be noted, tested the opinion not only of the active Labor workers in the constituencies but of the whole mass of Labor voters. Of these, 53 per cent were against expelling Mr. Bevan, 24 per cent in favor. Among Liberal voters a majority was against expulsion. Only among Tory voters was there a solid opinion favoring expulsion—52 per cent against 21 per cent.

The scale of the protest exceeded anything that had been forecast, and this no doubt was the decisive factor when the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party met to settle the issue of expulsion. At its first meeting the expulsionists, led by Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Morrison, pressed their demand so hard that it was defeated by only one vote. Mr. Attlee saved the situation by requiring that the defendant should be allowed to state his case before he was executed; in other words, he carried by one vote a proposal that a subcommittee of the Executive should meet with Mr. Bevan. When the Executive met a week later, the expulsionists were obviously discomfited by the assurances that Mr. Bevan had given to Mr. Attlee personally and by the way in which he had turned the accusation against his accusers. The demand for expulsion was withdrawn. Mr. Attlee clearly regarded Mr. Bevan's assurances as being quite satisfactory, and though this view was not shared by the intransigent right-wingers who had worked for the final showdown, the incident has been closed, with Mr. Bevan still safely in the Labor Party. Few will doubt that the Executive feared a defeat for themselves at the annual conference of the Labor Party if they proceeded with the expulsion; in other words, the massive protest from party members all over the country had had its effect, and Mr. Attlee, who had opposed the expulsion throughout, instinctively interpreted the desires of those who sustain the Labor Party in the country.

Those who support Mr. Bevan naturally conclude that he has emerged from the clash stronger than he was when the right-wing leadership decided to put the issue to the test. In fact, it is difficult for anyone to doubt that this is the right conclusion. Hitherto the heads of the two or three most powerful trade unions in the country have dominated the Labor Party in conjunction with the right-wing leadership of the Parliamentary party.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Their decrees have always proved effective in the end. For example, last year they succeeded together in committing the Labor Party at its annual conference to outright support of West German rearmament, though the opposition to this course among the rank and file was strong and persistent. It is hard to believe that the process which might lead to Aneurin Bevan's expulsion was unleashed without the connivance of the trade-union leaders. Indeed, on the very day when the members of the Parliamentary Party met to discuss the issue, they could read in their newspapers the demand from one of the most powerful of these leaders that the move to get rid of the Bevanite "encumbrance" should be ruthless and final. Instead, Mr. Bevan has been kept in the Labor Party, and whatever the result of the general election which everyone now agrees is imminent, he will doubtless command a stronger following in the Parliamentary party than ever before.

ON WHAT grounds, then, is it claimed that this argument goes to the roots of British politics? The struggle within the British Labor Party was never a contest for the leadership between Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevan, as many American newspapers have suggested. The argument was always about policy. A section of the right-wing leadership has sought for years to force down the throats of the British Labor movement policies that it would not swallow. The aim of the right wing was to make British socialism mildly reformist in its domestic aspirations and bipartisan in foreign policy, accepting the Churchillian thesis of agreement with the United States at all costs. Bevanism marked the revolt of the rank and file of the Labor Party against these tendencies. It would have happened even if Aneurin Bevan had never been born. The attempt to victimize Bevan as a political figure brought to a climax the discussion about the way British socialism should go.

The fact that the maneuver against Bevan has failed is a sign that the British Labor Party retains its Socialist impulse and its desire that Britain play an independent role in guiding the nations toward a world peace based on firmer foundations than the mere recognition of the need for coexistence.

S. O. S.

To the Youth of France . . *by Francois Mauriac*

Paris

A GLOOMY silence weighs on this country, which seems, in appearance at least, to be again prostrate. Only the commercial class is indulging in mass uprisings, and only because of its quarrels with the public treasury.

The papers publish coldly, without comment, the speech made by Alfred Coste-Floret at Metz, on March 6, in the presence of the Attorney General: "Mendes-France was too much to the right. . . ." Or again: "Before him, Algeria was calm." Coste-Floret, this Popular Republican, even had the impertinence to say, according to an agency dispatch, that the Mendes-France ministry was the farthest to the right of the legislature!

How interpret the silence that greets such words? I doubt very much whether it is the silence of contempt. Public attention, since the fall of the Mendes-France Cabinet, has turned away from such problems, even from those of North Africa, which the government will, nevertheless, have to solve in agreement with the majority supporting it. So let us look at what one of the leaders of that majority, Jean Crous-saud, writes: "It is necessary to reverse our policy in North Africa. We of the A. R. S. [dissident ex-Gaullists] are determined to push the question of North Africa to the fore, ahead of every desire for ministerial continuity or political stability." If that is what portends, on what forces can we still count in this country?

From certain indications one might think that our society is rotting at the top. I have long clung to my illusions about the so-called middle-class virtues. The attachment to its privileges of the upper middle class was compensated, I tried to persuade myself, by a tradition of honorableness, if not nonor, by a strict integrity in everything that concerned monev. But did I really believe it? In the silence of last Sunday, prey to an unspeakable bitterness, straying from book to book in my library, I leafed through the worn copy of a little volume which was my bedside book as an adolescent—"Under the Eyes of the Barbarians," by Barres. Today it is forgotten or has become incomprehensible to my juniors.

I saw that already in 1905 I had underscored some lines which Barres must have written when he himself had just reached the age of manhood: "Their convictions, all their sentiments, these are the court mantles which hang debased and slack, not on the awkward loins of bureaucrats but, even greater disgrace, on unworthy souls." In the same period I had also marked these words which the young Barres put in the mouth of a certain type of man: "We have, in the bottom of our pockets, esteem, fatherland, and all the offices."

We are not suffering, therefore, from a new evil. These half-century-old quotations should reassure us—the evil is not mortal since we are not dead. But facing these men who have the fatherland, esteem, and all the offices in their pocket, who hold fast to them and are resolved to give up nowhere, neither in France nor overseas, who constitute a formidable conspiracy of all-powerful interests, controlling Parliament, the minis-

FRANCOIS MAURIAC is a distinguished French novelist.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ters, and a good part of the press—facing them, to whom, to what, shall we have recourse?

TO YOUTH. We are turning toward youth. But whom do we mean when we say, "Youth"? Does not the word cover a myth?

No, you are not a myth, you exist, youth of my country, though you wear several faces. And I make this confession of faith in order not to lose heart: I believe that the youth of the "young employers" movement, of the Christian workers, of the Marxist workers, and the students of all creeds, in spite of differences of class, of interest, and of doctrine, have in common that virtue which is lost with age, the virtue of disinterestedness.

It is a great mystery that as the hour approaches when man must leave everything behind, he closes his hands with increasing avarice over the possessions which, after all, he will not take with him on that journey without return.

Capitalist youth, working youth, student youth, French youth, you who feel with more passion than can a very tired old man the shame of this great country delivered over to a greedy and blind conservatism, the more blind as it is greedier, can you show our masters that we are not resigned to tolerating everything? Disarmed as you are, for them to take fright it would suffice that you cry out. Your silence reassures them.

It is up to us, I know, to give you a rallying point. Some of us are studying problems of this kind and preparing for the near future. So do not be discouraged. Do not lose interest in the political adventure, for through it your destiny is being determined and therefore the destiny of France itself—and not only of France but also of the races overseas for whom we have the responsibility before history and before God.

"Cain, what have you done to your brother?" This question goes beyond the individual; it is addressed to a great people like ours in the measure that we hold weaker peoples under our sway.

The more the professional politicians disgust you, the less have you the right to refuse to interest yourself in their acts. If the youth of France remains silent, they will dare anything.

PEACE-TIME CONSCRIPTION

Who Wants It? . . . *by John M. Swomley, Jr.*

ARE we being accurately informed or are we being misled by published reports that the majority of people favor universal military training? The reports suggest that if Congress were responsive to public opinion, U.M.T. would be adopted at once. The strong opposition to U.M.T. which undoubtedly exists has been concealed in most accounts of public-opinion polls. A case in point is a recent article in *This Week,* which is distributed by a large number of Sunday newspapers throughout the country as their magazine supplement. Entitled The Kids Want U.M.T., the article declared that in a poll on U.M.T. taken in 1954 by the Institute of Student Opinion 66 per cent of the high-schoolers were flatly in favor of U. M. T. and only 26 per cent opposed it when they were asked: "Under present world conditions do you favor the general principle of compulsory military training for all fit young men?" The article did not even hint that in the same poll 52 per cent of the high-school students polled were against the kind of U.M.T. now before Congress and only 30 per cent were for it. The question which brought this response was: "Would you favor compulsory training for six months followed by seven and a half years in the Ready Reserve provided it was required of all fit young men?" To another question, "Do you favor the plan as recommended by the National Security Training Commission?" 50.54 per cent of the students polled answered "no," 37.52 per cent answered "yes," and 11.94 per cent had no opinion.

The author of the article, Myrick Land, asserted that "the institute's 1954 poll on universal military training was one of the biggest it had ever taken. The ballots were marked by 48,399 high-school students in forty-eight states." Yet a table giving "Results of Polls on Universal Military Training Conducted by the Institute of Student Opinion under the Sponsorship of *Scholastic Magazine*" shows that it was the smallest of the institute's five polls on the question. Since Mr. Land is on the staff of *Scholastic Magazine, This Week* apparently thought it unnecessary to check his facts.

When the question of U. M. T. came up immediately after the war, a Gallup poll showed a majority in its favor on the basis of a simple question that did not describe the measure before Congress. The National Opinion Research Center, however, noting that the public divided on two expensive programs—federal aid to education and

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING IS THE HOTTEST ISSUE IN WASHINGTON TODAY. CONGRESS IS AFRAID OF IT, BUT HERE ARE FINDINGS THAT SHOW . . .

THE KIDS WANT UMT

By Myrick Land

Headline in This Week, *January 11, 1955*

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR., is the director of the National Council Against Conscription.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U. M. T.—conducted its poll accordingly. Its journal, *Opinion News*, said in the issue of August 1, 1947:

> That what the public thinks about peace-time conscription depends somewhat on the way a problem is presented is suggested by results of a question asked in the May, 1945, N.O.R.C. survey.... When the alternative was raised, 56 per cent of the people said they thought an annual appropriation of two billion dollars would be better spent on regular education than on military training. When results were narrowed to include only those expressing a definite opinion one way or the other, 69 per cent would rather have the government underwrite regular education and 31 per cent would prefer to have the money go to an army and navy training program. The Center asked: "If the government had two billion dollars a year to spend, would you rather have it spent on a program of better regular education in the schools or on a program of compulsory military training in the army or navy?"

The results were as follows: Of all persons interviewed 56 per cent favored having the money spent on regular education; 25 per cent voted for military training; 11 per cent favored neither or both; and 8 per cent were undecided. Of those with a definite opinion 69 per cent favored regular education and 31 per cent military training.

IN EVERY opinion poll there is the problem of what percentage of the people are informed on the question. For example, the New York *Herald Tribune* of October 22, 1947, reported that "30 per cent of the population of the representative city of Cincinnati have never heard of the United Nations," according to a poll taken there. More than half of those who had heard of it had a mistaken view of its function.

The Gallup Poll's recent releases on U. M. T. have given no clue to the number of people informed about the proposed system and about its penalties and reserve obligations. In the January, 1955, Gallup release, 75 per cent were reported in favor, 22 per cent opposed, and 3 per cent undecided. One assumed that everyone knew about the proposal. If, however, even 25 per cent of the American people were uninformed about it, Gallup's figures would mean that 75 per cent of 75 per cent, or only about half the people, favored it.

The Gallup Poll asks, "Would you favor or oppose requiring every able-bodied young man in this country when he reaches the age of eighteen to spend one year in military training and then join the reserves?" If those who answer think of such a one-year program as being shorter and therefore preferable to the present two-year draft plus reserve duty, the vote can hardly be an indorsement of the bill Congress is actually considering.

In this connection, Dr. Angus Campbell of the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan wrote:

> It will be noted that the response to the usual polling question tells very little about the respondent's understanding of the question. He can proceed through a polling answering yes and no in very much the same manner a college student goes through a true-or-false examination. There is no way of knowing . . . whether his answer is merely a random choice based on no understanding whatever.—Journal of Social Issues, November, 1946.

Interpretation of a poll is much more important than the mere figures. It is important, for example, to know *why* some persons favor peace-time military training. The August 1, 1947, issue of *Opinion News* stated that in the N.O.R.C.'s most recent survey the 65 per cent who favored compulsory military training were asked: "What are your main reasons for thinking that?" Of those replying "23 per cent mentioned personal improvement of the soldier, including better health, education, improved morals and citizenship, and physical training; 20 per cent named military reasons such as preparedness and national defense; . . .16 per cent considered both of the above reasons; 6 per cent mentioned other reasons." According to these figures, only 36 per cent of the people wanted compulsory military training for the reason which the President's Commission on Universal Training held to be its sole justification—national defense. Congress would not seriously consider a program costing two or three billion dollars a year whose chief support came from people wanting the armed services to enter the field of moral, educational, and health improvement. Congress would be much more likely to spend the money for aid to education, public-health services, and other existing programs which unquestionably benefit youth.

It is also important to know how intensely people feel about the matter. Dr. Campbell says:

> Unelaborated yes and no answers . . . disguise the degree of intensity with which the respondents hold the attitude they express. It makes a great deal of difference if public support of a proposal is the "I don't know much about it and I guess it might be a 'good idea'" kind or the "Absolutely, we ought to do it; it's a good thing for thus-and-so reasons" variety.

It would appear from this that the mere number of those in favor of a measure does not justify legislative action. If the rank and file of the great church, farm, labor, and educational groups do not reject the stand of their leaders against universal military training, that means either that they themselves are opposed to U.M.T. or that they do not feel strongly in favor of it. On the other hand, the continued vigorous opposition to peace-time conscription in the face of the barrage of army propaganda for it indicates intensity of conviction.

That the strength of a minority's conviction should be considered was emphasized by Lindsay Rogers, Burgess professor of public law at Columbia, in *Harper's Magazine* for November, 1941:

> But before a democracy acts, it must know something more than whether a plurality or a majority desires action. Decisions that are reached have to be accepted, and without a broad basis of consent, democracy does not work. Hence when they are wise, majorities do not rush ahead to have their way until they have inquired into the basis of consent. . . . Until a poll tells us about the eagerness of those who wish that something be done and about the indifference or bitterness of those who don't want it done, it will not chart opinion or register sentiment.

What the public thinks is important. But public opinion on a complex and controversial political question is not easy to gauge. Is it most correctly reflected by the polls, the results of which seem to favor conscription, or by the stand of the nation's large church, farm, and labor groups, which have gone on record again and again against peace-time U.M.T.?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOR MERGER

Repercussions in Canada . . *by Sylvia Wiseman*

[*Canadian unions are important components of the international unions which are the backbone of both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. What effect, then, will the merger of the two federations have upon the labor picture in Canada? Will the Canadian federations also merge? Will the end result be still closer ties between American and Canadian labor or the growth of an independent Canadian labor movement? Sylvia Wiseman, who discusses these questions in the article below, lectures on labor economics at McGill University.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Montreal

CANADA is the only advanced industrial state in the world which has a labor movement largely composed of "international" unions with headquarters in another country. The history of Canadian labor has been shaped by this fact.

As far back as the 1870's branches of American unions outnumbered either Canadian or British locals. But important as the internationals were, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, the first permanent Canadian labor federation, had at first no formal connection with the American Federation of Labor. Not till fifteen years after its founding was official contact with the A. F. of L. established—through an exchange of fraternal delegates. The T. L. C. originally aspired to include all Canadian labor, whether autonomous or international, and to prevent any divisions among its various affiliated groups. In this it failed. The now-famous Berlin, Ontario, convention decided on the expulsion of the Knights of Labor, already expelled by the A. F. of L. in the United States, and the exclusion of all national unions if internationals of the same craft existed. After this the T. L. C. represented international A. F. of L. unionism in Canada.

The issues of unity, Canadian autonomy, and relations with the A. F. of L. and the internationals reappeared many times in the following years. Purely Canadian organizations were often denied a place in the T. L. C. because an international was already established in the same field. The most spectacular case of rivalry was that between the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and an international railway union. The Canadian Brotherhood was first in the field and had joined the T. L. C. when the international had only a small membership in Canada. A major Canadian union, it demanded full autonomy, with a Canadian president equal in rank and salary to that of the president of the international. But the A. F. of L. raised the familiar cry of dual unionism, and in 1921 the Canadian Brotherhood was expelled from the T. L. C. Twenty years later its president, A. R. Mosher, became the first president of the Canadian Congress of Labor, Canadian counterpart of the C. I. O.

The suspension of the C. I. O. unions by the A. F. of L. in the States in 1936 placed the Canadian labor movement in a dilemma. On the one hand, to unseat the delegates of the C. I. O. unions would make the split a *fait accompli;* on the other, to disregard the action of the A. F. of L. would undoubtedly cause many powerful internationals to withdraw from the T. L. C. In the end the C. I. O. unions were officially expelled—action upheld by the 1939 convention.

The new Congress, the C. C. L., proceeded to organize great numbers of workers in the mass-production industries and by its competition forced the older Congress to intensify its own efforts. But its formation did not solve the particular problem of the position of the Canadian unions within the international organization. Conflicts over this issue arose rather frequently. A recent example was the case of the Teamsters in Quebec. In 1953 the elected business agent and other officers of Local 106 in Montreal were summarily dismissed by order of Dave Beck, president of the International. This move was explained in a press report as "part of a new overall setup planned by Beck for Canada." The response of the ousted Montreal officials was to form a purely Canadian local in Quebec. They charged that there had been unwarranted interference by the American Teamsters' executive in the affairs of the Quebec union.

The rivalry between the Canadian Seamen's Union and the Seafarers' International Union also became the focus of a struggle between T. C. L. and A. F. of L. over the autonomy of the Canadian federation. In an open letter to the membership of the T. L. C. in 1949 President (now retired) Percy Bengough asserted that the demand of the A. F. of L. Executive Council for changes in the constitution of the T. L. C.—specifically, the institution of a block-voting system—would have made "the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada a stifled appendage of the American Federation of Labor." The demand was withdrawn several months later when the Canadian Seamen's Union was suspended.

MR. BENGOUGH'S letter ended with the phrase "Cooperation yes—domination no!" This expresses the present mood of many Canadian unionists. Once again decisions are being taken in the United States which will change the form and nature of the Canadian labor movement. The desire for a unified labor body is strong in most sectors of organized labor here. A no-raiding pact was signed late in 1954 between the T. L. C. and the C. C. L. In March of this year a unity committee of the two congresses, meeting in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ottawa, drew up a tentative program for merger. In a number of provinces T. L. C. and C. C. L. organizations cooperated in the election campaigns. The conventions of both bodies last year showed strong rank-and-file support for unity; at the C. C. L. convention there was an unsuccessful move to take back the unions—U. E., Mine-Mill, etc.—which had been expelled after their expulsion from the C. I. O. Merger would be welcomed in Canada by most organized-labor groups, but it would not automatically solve the fundamental problem of how Canadian and American workers can pool their economic strength while remaining autonomous and free to formulate their own policies on national issues.

A number of controversial issues would have to be faced immediately by a unified Canadian labor congress. While the T. L. C. has followed the traditional non-partisan pressure-group line of the A. F. of L., the C. C. L. has since 1943 adopted the C. C. F. party as its political arm. The new unified congress, when it is formed, will have to decide whether it is to be politically non-partisan, support the C. C. F., or—a remote possibility at the federal level—favor a new third party. The tradition of non-partisan action cannot be imposed. There have been many expressions of discontent with the opportunism and lack of principle which mark pressure-group activity. Furthermore, if unemployment continues to grow in Canada as rapidly as it has grown in the recent past, the unions will have to make effective political demands for a comprehensive full-employment program. In several industries, such as textiles and electrical goods, severe competition from American producers has directed attention toward tariff controls and import quotas as ameliorative measures. The internationals have found it difficult to urge such policies since they conflict with the national interests of their American membership.

The St. Lawrence Seaway is another contentious issue. The A. F. of L. has come out in opposition to the project; its internationals in Montreal have been silent in the general debate on the subject. Cooperation in political action at the federal level with such independent groups as the Catholic Confederation of Labor will also have to be considered.

A UNITED labor movement will be hardest to achieve in the province of Quebec. There are three important labor bodies in Quebec—the Quebec Federation of Labor (T. L. C.—A. F. of L.) with 200,000 members, the Quebec Federation of Industrial Unions (C. C. L.—C. I. O.) with 40,000, and the independent Catholic Confederation of Labor with slightly more than 100,000. In the past few years the C. C. L.—C. I. O. has engaged in joint political and educational activity with the Catholic Confederation. The T. L. C., on the other hand, has been outspoken in its hostility to the Catholic Confederation. In the fall of 1954 an extensive strike of plumbers in both A. F. of L. and Catholic syndicates was disrupted by the Washington office of the A. F. of L. Plumbers, which ordered the strikers to go back to work across a picket line set up by the Catholic syndicates. The order was backed by a threat to withhold strike pay. Many of the A. F. of L. unions settled separately under the "conciliatory" auspices of the provincial Premier, although there was to have been a joint settlement with the Catholic unions. The latter learned of the A. F. of L. action from the press.

The political differences between the T. L. C. and the C. C. L. are much sharper in Quebec than elsewhere in Canada. The conflict has been manifested especially in the relations of the two groups with the provincial government. The joint demonstration of the C. C. L. and the Catholic syndicates against Duplessis' recent anti-labor legislation was repudiated by the provincial T. L. C. The C. C. L. this year was denied a representative on the Quebec Labor Relations Board, although the appointment had been promised by Duplessis himself in 1950. The Premier stated that a labor body which was engaged in fighting the "padlock" law—an anti-Communist bill sponsored by the Duplessis government at present *sub judice* in the Supreme Court of Canada—could not be trusted to apply the labor laws of the province. There is, however, provision for a T. L. C. representative on the Labor Relations Board.

Further evidence of the provincial government's diverse attitude toward the two congresses has been provided by the experience of the Steelworkers in the new copper-mining area of the Gaspe. The Steelworkers have repeatedly declared that their organizers have been harassed and arrested without charge and their meetings broken up, while A. F. of L. organizers and meetings have been given the "unofficial" protection of the provincial police. A newspaper item last year stated that according to the Steelworkers a member of the provincial police had admitted that his orders were "to keep out the C. I. O. and help the other fellows."

Merger in the United States will undoubtedly be followed by similar action in Canada. The vast majority of Canadian workers desire unity, knowing that it will stimulate new organization and make possible more effective political action. Many trade-union leaders, however, in Canada as in the United States, want to preserve craft predominance and will insist on the supremacy of jurisdictional claims over all other interests of labor. These problems will be faced in both countries. In addition the united organization in Canada will have to deal with the role of Canadian labor in the continent's labor movement. The Canadian movement will then be capable of cooperating with its counterpart to the south and at the same time of expressing fully the national interests of its own membership.

"What's Good for General Motors..."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Words Are Not Good Enough

ROUGH WINDS OF MAY. By Nancy Hallinan. Harper and Brothers. $3.95.

THE PLACE OF JACKALS. By Ronald Hardy. Doubleday and Company. $3.50.

VIOLENT SATURDAY. By W. L. Heath. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THE TRAP. By Dan Jacobson. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.95.

By R. J. Kaufmann

PERHAPS—one thinks when reading four first novels back to back—people write nowadays because they are too articulate. These four are like many other current novels in their reverence for the ineffable, for the feelings which humble the mere speaker. They chastise prose by confronting it with the wordless urgency of poetic situations and then fall silent. They seem glad that there are some things they cannot express.

The hero of Miss Hallinan's novel is a sentimentalized "painting animal"—a kind of Sickert-cum-Cezanne called unhappily by the nickname Fatuncle. Its central character is a sixteen-year-old girl who, in the figure of the title, weathers the tempests of mid-adolescence as the book toils through England's gradual winter into the soggy but restrained spring of pristine comprehension. I suggest thus that the book is rather too long—by a third at least; the recall is total, the details cherished, everything is named only to stop where understanding awaits. I do not mean the book is not clear; it is, and it has a good basic fable of the girl modeling for her painter uncle, who behind his unromantic exterior and his tough disregard for the bourgeoisie owns a romantic purity so uncompromised as to make him a suitable teacher of the world's routine treacheries and perversions. She goes to him out of a British middle-class girlhood so repressed that her own rather heady fantasies are not even very troubling to her. Education into a sufficient insight to start maturity takes time, and is painful. The transition is fairly interesting, but the author says too much about the minor terms.

Miss Hallinan is sensitive—she sees things, hears speech, and incidentally has a keen if squeamish nose—but she is wasteful; sixteen-like, she predramatizes experience and is too tender of the recollected minutiae. She obviously admires most the bluff extra-verbal integrity of her painter hero, who says, not very thrillingly: "At about six or seven I realized I couldn't figure anything out. . . . So I gave it up. It was better not to try, but draw things on paper." There he is, fat, compulsive, sub-social, gifted and lonely—admired because he has to avoid language in his hard and skilled way. An interesting hero; like the priest-hero of "The Place of Jackals" by the young Britisher, Ronald Hardy, he has his own struggle and his own silence.

ROGET, the priest of Hardy's novel, a peasant from the grape country of southern France, goes from the cloisters to the hectic and pagan luxuriance of Indo-China, where as a non-combatant he is an irritant reminder to the moribund French garrisons on the jungle frontiers of the ordered life they are doomed to die fighting for amid the fecund irrelevance of obscene, non-Gallic, vegetable and human disorder. Roget and Colonel Lejeune, his commander, representing respectively the religious and the secular intellectual traditions of modern France, battle with cruelty and suffering almost, as it were, to save themselves from each other. It is a good struggle, seen with intelligence and power by Hardy, who can describe the smell and soul-rot of fear with memorable force. Again, the book's hero, the priest Roget, learns the wordless litany of physical courage after the pre-human threat of the jungle has overshadowed and dimmed his faith. His word—the priest's role, the *logos*—is irrelevant; only his existential courage to act reclaims him. Words are not good enough for art or faith renewed.

THE setting is different and the language clear and plain when we track back to Morgan, Alabama, to follow a small-town bank robbery through the careful, cinematic eyes of the young Arkansas novelist W. L. Heath. His book is compact, firmly plotted, and, particularly in the last half, exciting. It is at once conventional and fresh enough so that it can be expected to make a good and a successful movie. Heath traces, through the preceding three days, the converging lives of the spectators, victims, and participants in the climactic bank robbery and in doing so presents, if a little thinly, a clear cross-sectional review of a smallish Southern mill town. The book in its essential dramatic lineaments is superior to this rather wooden sociological transcript. The central character, Shelley Martin, the quietly presented heroic thwarter of the bank robbers, is the new factor in our oncoming fiction—the good man, not important, not eloquent, not defeated, full of a wordless *pietas;* the quiet family man, virtually unsentimentalized, who becomes a murderer (in justice's cause) so that life may go on. Words are not there for him to express his active feelings nor are they desired, for if he spoke them he might be compelled more firmly to remember what he momentarily became in order to do this necessary social act. Words are not good enough for art, faith, or self-abnegation.

THE last novel—really a short novella—goes even farther toward non-speech. "The Trap," by the young South African, Dan Jacobson, is a tight little parable. An Afrikaner has a dry, rocky, lonely and windswept farm. He works hard. His wife is nearly mad; they have no children. He is a good, thoughtful, wordless man who means always to treat others well. His trusted colored foreman first frames another Kaffir on the farm to prevent the discovery of his own sheep-stealing and then

R. J. KAUFMANN is a member of the English Department of Wesleyan University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is himself betrayed by his white accomplice. It is a hard, unadorned tale of the snuffing out of human relationships in the mean conflict of the races. When the white boss, sickened and wordless, drives his work-hardened fists into the face of the manacled Kaffir, we have the absolute image of that most awful form of futility — non-communication. Words are not good enough for art, for faith renewed, for obligatory heroism or human relations. Our hearts not our lips are silent, or at least so we read in these four first novels.

A Free Enterpriser's Story

INDUSTRIAL VOYAGE. By P. W. Litchfield. Doubleday and Company. $4.50.

By Harvey O'Connor

IN HIS autobiography Paul Litchfield, the Goodyear tire and rubber man, sketches a success-and-failure story aimed to warm the cockles of any free enterpriser's heart. Litchfield is an engaging type, and his unvarnished prose—for this is not an "as-told-to" concoction—is absorbing as he recounts how he came to make the first Goodyear automobile tire back in 1900 and how he pioneered straight-edge, non-skid, and cord tires. Litchfield revolutionized long-distance transport by the simple expedient of taking trucks and busses off hard rubber and on to pneumatics. He has but one big failure to admit—Goodyear's efforts to develop the non-rigid dirigible balloon into an instrument of mass transport, and that he blames on Harold Ickes's veto of helium gas to the Germans before World War II.

Litchfield aimed at a quality product, pressed hard to develop new techniques and products ahead of the market, expanded into New England textile mills, and planted cotton in Arizona and rubber trees in Sumatra to feed a pioneering, booming industry.

Brilliant as a production genius, Litchfield reveals the profound incomprehension of most American business giants when he gets away from his conveyor lines. A warm-hearted man who wanted to do the fair thing by his employees, he set up a labor department "to act as the representative of the men" and was called a "socialist" by some of his competitors. He was astounded in 1913 when the I. W. W. tied up Akron, not to better wages and conditions but "to seize power." The Wobbly chieftain referred to as Bill Hayward was met at the Akron railroad station by a posse of deputies organized by the rector of Litchfield's church and told to go back where he came from.

After World War I, Litchfield figured that "it might work out better if the men elected their own representatives," and so the Goodyear Industrial Assembly was created, its actions subject only to the veto of the plant manager and the board of directors. To his regret this was outlawed by the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

For the other side of Litchfield's labor policy, one needs to consult the hearings of the La Follette Committee (pp. 2939 ff. and 6453 ff.). When summoned to explain the Goodyear spy system, Litchfield through his lawyers first pleaded illness, although he was well enough to address a meeting of New York industrialists. Secondly, his lawyers pleaded that he knew nothing of the undercover network that screened his plants. When that failed, they frankly confessed that Litchfield's reputation as a humanitarian employer would be ruined and a fine old gentleman would be publicly humiliated. Senator La Follette answered: "If he's been humiliating his workmen with espionage for twenty years, he deserves his day in court to explain." Litchfield got it, whether he wanted it or not, but declined to remain to hear his employees offer their own version of what went on deep in the Goodyear plants.

Litchfield pens a full chapter on how unionism is the school for com-

HARVEY O'CONNOR is the author of "Mellon's Millions," "The Guggenheims," "The Astors," "A History of the Oil Workers International Union," and "The Empire of Oil," to be published next fall.

Soviet Civilization

by Corliss Lamont

Second Edition — New and Enlarged — Just Published

With an Epilogue by Dr. Lamont, summarizing Soviet developments during the past two years; and with an introduction by James Aronson, noted journalist.

EVENTS IN RUSSIA have moved with startling rapidity in the more than two years since *Soviet Civilization* first offered Americans a lucid, multi-sided account of the Soviet Union.

Now, in this enlarged edition, Dr. Lamont brings his extensive knowledge and unhampered insight to bear on what Soviet developments portend for Americans.

Is no-existence the only alternative to co-existence? How much has Soviet policy changed and is American policy keeping pace? What role is Russia playing in international relations?

Among the Timely Topics

Evaluating Soviet Russia • Soviet National and Racial Minorities • Soviet Russia and Religion • Contrasts between Soviet Socialism and Fascism • Soviet Foreign Policy • Co-existence or No-existence • Atomic Energy for Peaceful Use

Comments on the first edition of this monumental work

"His reputation for intellectual integrity ought to be enough to earn him a hearing." —Charlotte, N. C., News

"If this book were read by ten million Americans it could have a profound influence on the shape of human destiny." —Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild

"Most shocking and stimulating is the sub-chapter 'Incitements to War against the USSR' which contains well-documented evidence of the American attitude—both public and private—against the Soviet Union." —Durham, N. C., Herald

480 pages . . . $5.00

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, Publishers 15 E. 40 St., Desk N, N. Y. 16

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

munism and has won too much control over the lives of workers—a dreary mess of homilies when his own story of how Goodyear managed to achieve coexistence with the United Rubber Workers might have made fascinating reading.

Litchfield didn't know what hit him when the depression of 1920-21 struck. The bankers moved in, the Seiberlings moved out, and Litchfield barely survived. That was enough, of course, for he moved up to the presidency in 1926 and then freed Goodyear of banker control. Once again depression hit in the 1930's; Litchfield's explanation is that people forgot "the age-old principles of thrift and saving for a rainy day." Hoover had the answer but wasn't permitted to work it out. Instead, there came a decade of "socialism" infiltrated by communism. Litchfield concludes, with Thomas Jefferson, that that government is best which governs least, a maxim to the liking of economic royalists.

"Industrial Voyage" is a first-rate book so long as its author sticks to what he knows—rubber; otherwise platitudinous.

New Books in Brief

Shouting Contest

ECONOMICS AND THE ART OF CONTROVERSY. By John K. Galbraith. Rutgers. $2.50.

The gist of this little book's argument is that controversy over economic questions in America has become largely a shouting contest between Tweedledee and Tweedledum. On such topics as the coexistence of organized labor and private enterprise, government responsibility for economic stability, and the present leaning toward the welfare state, Professor Galbraith declares: "The political parties have come to share the same strategic goals and to divide only on tactics." True; all too true. But whether this reflects harmony or paralysis, enlightenment or stultification, we are not told. A more important question, also left unexamined, concerns the context in which the substance of argument has diminished, though the sound may continue. That context has been the years since 1941—years encompassing war, post-war, and cold-war stimuli to the economy, and, politically, years placing sharp penalties on those who would dissent from the middle view, those on the left, that is. Has anyone ever denied that such years bring health to a capitalist economy and a relative absence of internecine warfare? Professor Galbraith, as a well-trained economist, might more profitably have spent his and our time in estimating the likelihood that high levels of employment can be maintained with a significant slackening of armaments expenditures. He might have asked himself, and informed us, what meaning should be attached to the recent spate of "right-to-work" bills; what different meaning might be given to the Taft-Hartley Act in a period of unemployment. He might have allowed his eyes to wander beyond our borders. He might, then, have written an important book.

The Maclean Mystery

THE MISSING MACLEANS. By Geoffrey Hoare. Viking. $3.75.

If we assume—what is probable—that Donald Maclean disappeared into Russian custody in June, 1951, and that his wife and three children followed him in September, 1953, a number of questions crowd forward. Was Maclean a Soviet spy in the British foreign service? Did he flee to Russia or was he summoned? Did he take Guy Burgess with him, or did Burgess take him? What tempted Melinda Maclean to follow? Where are they now?

Geoffrey Hoare answers none of these questions. He simply offers an orderly recapitulation of what the newspapers printed when the flights were news. It is a thin tale, for British officialdom has not been forthcoming.

In his travels as correspondent for the *News-Chronicle,* Hoare ran into the couple several times and became fairly chummy with them. His attempt to make them seem attractive and important people does credit to his loyalty, but he is not persuasive. He says, offering little evidence, that Maclean was a junior diplomat of almost unlimited promise. What he reveals is a bright and petulant young man who took disastrously to drink as relief from the burden of homosexuality and his dissatisfaction with Anglo-American foreign policy. Melinda Maclean was an over-indulged American girl who enrolled at the Sorbonne as an excuse for living in Paris and married her fascinating Englishman in an emotional flare-up during the invasion of France. She was herself planning a divorce at the time she disappeared.

Why she followed her husband is the crowning enigma of their case. Hoare offers some amateur psychological hypotheses which cannot be proved or disproved. It is irritating to follow him for 250 pages to the conclusion that the Maclean mystery is thoroughly baffling.

Unorthodox Archaeologist

MAN ON EARTH. By Jaquetta Hawkes. Random House. $3.75.

Jaquetta Hawkes, a Cambridge-trained archaeologist, is the author of several unorthodox books on the periphery of her specialty. None is more unorthodox than this sketch of evolution as seen by a rebel against the usual assumption that the whole process has been blind, mechanical, and determined by the laws of a physical universe. Biologists have tended to dismiss as "mere literature" the heretical tradition to which Darwin's own coworker, Wallace, gave some support and which has been kept alive by Bergson, Samuel Butler, and Bernard Shaw, but there have been recent signs that even some biologists are not quite so sure of everything as they once were. Mrs. Hawkes goes the whole way by declaring flatly that the desire, the will, and the intelligence of the evolving organism itself contributed to the process and that consciousness, not mere survival, has been one of the ends toward which life has been struggling. There are strong poetic and mystical overtones to her writing which will infuriate still more those who will accuse her of "vitalism," "teleology," and all the other deadly sins of the positivist theology. But she lets in some fresh air where it is much needed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mighty Hunter

THE TEMPLE TIGER AND MORE MAN-EATERS OF KUMAON. By Jim Corbett. Oxford. $3.

More tigers, more jungle lore, and more scenes of village life, with a few leopards for good measure, by the redoubtable Colonel Corbett who for many years spent a considerable part of his time answering calls from remote communities where a tiger had adopted the reprehensible habit of killing domestic animals and men. Readers of his four previous books will know what to expect—a remarkably straightforward masculine style, a vivid picture of the hunter's technique and, often between the lines, glimpses into village life as well as into the character of an interesting man. Colonel Corbett is a sort of Kiplingesque hero without the slight air of humbug which hovers about the character as Kipling described it. He knows the jungle, he lives by a code in his dealings with natives as well as with tigers, and if he has no doubts about the white man's burden he is genuinely kindly, helpful, and generous in his dealings with "natives." This latest volume includes the stories of a charmed temple man-eater which not even Colonel Corbett ever succeeded in killing and of the Panar leopard which was credited with the death of four hundred persons before the Colonel laid it low.

Washington's Writings

THE WASHINGTON PAPERS: Basic Selections from the Public and Private Writings of George Washington. Edited by Saul K. Padover. Harper. $5.

The strong, sober, steadfast mind of George Washington is accurately mirrored in this 400-page selection from his voluminous writings. The most famous documents are all included as a matter of course, together with enough else to make the collection fresh and interesting. Farming, war, and the principles and problems of the new, experimental republic are his subjects; he writes about them with a due sense of their importance and with a high-minded respect for himself and his reader.

Films

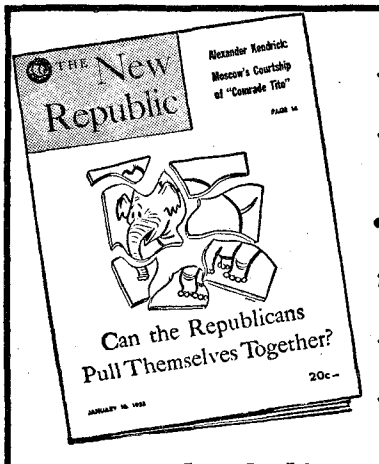
Robert Hatch

THE wide-angle screen is the most overtouted boon to mankind since chlorophyll toothpaste. Its proportions are ill adjusted to human eyesight, and a great deal of ingenuity is now being spent on finding ways to fill the awkward width without forcing moviegoers to snap their heads left and right like spectators at a tennis match.

For panoramic landscape, however, the shape is dandy, and any action that involves chases or stampedes shows up to great advantage. This new gadget may revive interest in the old-fashioned Western, and if it does it will justify all the fuss and expense of its installation. The horse opera was one of Hollywood's first inventions—there are some who argue that it is Hollywood's only invention—and the formula has never been beaten for popular entertainment.

"Man Without a Star," in which Robert Mitchum plays a drifting cowboy, is a hopeful straw in this wind. Mitchum hates barbed wire, and he is gradually wandering north from Texas toward Canada, trying to keep his high-heeled boots free of this new-fangled entanglement. But the picture tells of one time in his life when respect for honor and fair play forces him to string the stuff; also of how he teaches a green youngster to rope a calf and draw a gun, and of the unconventional wages a beautiful ranch owner (Jeanne Crain) pays him to be her foreman.

Mitchum can play a banjo, drink whiskey by the tumblerful, turn a herd of stampeding cattle, and, riding full gallop, drop a villain at a hundred yards with every shot from his Colt. He fights effectively with his hands and teeth, and both horses and women take to him on sight. Connoisseurs of the Western will not



Last Chance

. . . to get acquainted with the exciting, new

New Republic

at this half-price rate for ten issues!

New Republic • 1826 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Yes . . . send me the next ten weeks of the New Republic. My $1 is enclosed.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....STATE.....

(THIS OFFER GOOD UNTIL APRIL 25)

$1

to Nation readers

IF YOU ACT NOW

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Religious Advertisements Approaching Climax

Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God necessary for Defeat of Communism.—Why is the communist movement always ATHEISTIC? Because, in the time of Marx, religious power helped to end American slavery; and the same religious power can help to end communism today. Communism is afraid of Religion. According to communistic imagination, Labor is at the mercy of privately-owned Capital, which "monopolizes" Industrial Machinery, and therefore has power to oppress and "exploit" Labor.

Labor and Capital Both Exploited by corrupt Fiscal Power.—Laboring people are forced to compete for jobs in overcrowded cities by two very unnatural conditions:—(1) Corrupt *overtaxation* of Productive Enterprise, and (2) corrupt *undertaxation* of Land. This fundamental economic and social *injustice* was begun by the machinations of British Landed Aristocrats, hundreds of years ago. Undertaxation of Land gives an artificial selling and rental "value" to Land. In this way, Land acquires unjust and dangerous power over Private Enterprise at the very moment that Private Enterprise itself is being corruptly overtaxed.

Corrupt Fiscal Power inherited from Britain.—Overtaxation of Productive Enterprise is reflected in artificially HIGH PRICE OF GOODS. And at the same time, undertaxation of Land gives Land an INFLATED PRICE, which is reflected in SOARING RENTALS. Unperceived and silent, this fundamental INJUSTICE operates at the very basis of our civilization, and must be counteracted by an aroused public opinion, leading speedily to appropriate legislation, as in New Zealand; Sydney, Australia, etc.

Churches cannot Go into Politics, but can Restore Social Justice to Religion, and Challenge Communism.—Organized religion can promote and intensify the present world-wide social awakening. It can do so by reasserting the social emphasis of the Hebrew prophets, endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. This is already being done by quite a number of clergymen and by the resolutions passed by some church organizations.

* * *

Two circulars, entitled (1) *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History,* and (2) *Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God,* will be forwarded to you if you send postage in the amount of six cents, as partial coverage of mailing cost. Write clearly, or better, print name and address inside and outside your envelope. If no stamps are sent, no circulars will be forwarded.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

ADVERTISEMENT

approve of his offhand efficiency with the latter, or of his tendency to savage a beaten enemy, but otherwise he is the ideal lonesome cowhand come back to save the West from law, sobriety, and modern improvements. Next time I hope we may have a stagecoach and some disgruntled Sioux.

"TO PARIS WITH LOVE" enjoys the advantages of being photographed in that city and of having Alec Guinness in the cast. It largely wastes the double opportunity. The picture is a puzzle because it keeps looking as though it ought to be amusing and yet you are not amused. Something to do with the insipid dialogue, heavy-handed direction, and frightful toniness of the principal characters. It is a kind of snob's tour of gay Paree—an excursion which Guinness could have made hilarious if the script and the director had given him a chance. As it is, he plays his meager part—a wealthy Scottish lord who finds himself involved in some excessively r e f i n e d naughtiness—with more thought and invention than the job is worth. You can get some satisfaction by observing how ingeniously he props up the character with small but brilliantly circumstantial incident, but it would be untrue to say that this is worth the price of admission.

THE exhibitors of "One Summer of Happiness" are saying discreetly that they offer the film for adult viewers. They have also induced an extremely respectable clergyman to indorse it. These quite unnecessary precautions are to make you suppose that the Swedish import is exceedingly heating to the blood; only the very imaginative will be troubled by that kind of discomfort. "One Summer of Happiness" is a gloomy and not very perceptive study of adolescence—my current standard for a perceptive study of the subject is "The Game of Love." There is one scene of nude bathing, photographed as always in poor light, but this episode has long been a trademark of the Scandinavian studios. Otherwise the mood is more gauche than gaudy.

The story concerns a young university student who falls into a holiday affair with a solemn country

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

girl in a community oppressed by a pleasure-hating clergyman. A great deal is made of this preacher's puritanical bullying, but it has nothing to do with the central tragedy. The girl is killed quite by accident and arbitrarily—to make the picture "significant." The boy and girl (Folke Sundquist and Ulla Jacobsson) are attractive and look as though they could describe young love with considerable sweetness and poignancy. But they are either very inexperienced actors or stiff with overdirection.

"THREE CASES OF MURDER" is three examples of British silliness put out in one package in the hope that if you don't like one of them you may go for another. Of course, if you go for none of them, you are out of pocket. Orson Welles appears as Citizen Kane, member of Parliament, in one of these efforts—the one by Somerset Maugham, I believe—and a man named Alan Badel appears in all three. He commands a wild eye and looks like one of the damned—forced to appear forever in Grade B English thrillers.

Music

B. H. Haggin

FLAGSTAD, here on a personal visit, broke her retirement for two appearances with the Symphony of the Air and Edwin McArthur. If I were to speak only of what was to be heard at the second concert I would report that once again there was the shock, when she began to sing, of the loss in vocal beauty since the last time; then the amazement as the voice gained in luster of lower notes and power of higher ones, as it went with complete assurance wherever the phrase required it to go, and as it operated with complete flexibility in the inflections the phrasing required it to make. With all this, certainly, there was a loss since the last time: one noted that when the voice rose to a soft high note it produced that note carefully as a head tone; that climactic high notes, though astoundingly clear and powerful, were less powerful this time. Nevertheless it was true this time as last that even with what it had lost, the singing—the lustrous lower notes, the clear and powerful high ones, in the sustained phrases so exquisitely and touchingly inflected by musical feeling and taste—would have been considered remarkable if it had been done by a woman of thirty; and one heard it being done by a woman of sixty.

That brings me to what there was to see. It was five years since the concert in which I had last seen Flagstad without stage costume, make-up, and wig; and there was an additional shock from the changes in her appearance: the graying blond hair now totally gray; the head and shoulders slightly hunched together; the face shadowed and impassive. All this as she stood waiting and listening; then, when the moment came for her to sing, one saw her face amazingly become animated, transfigured by what produced the beautiful phrases one heard. And this made the occasion moving in the way Toscanini's concerts had been in recent years, when one had seen the manifestations of increasing age and then heard the manifestations of continuing great musical powers.

Nor was this the only way the occasion recalled Toscanini. I wrote once how everything he did in working with an orchestra was equal to each momentary situation but never more than equal to it, and how this economy in the operation of those extraordinary powers was a form of honesty in relation to the situation that made the performance, in addition to everything else, a moral experience which I found intensely moving. There was a similar honesty in the singing which employed the beautiful voice in the simplest, most direct way to produce a beautiful statement of the musical phrase—an honesty especially impressive to someone with Tebaldi's self-indulgent vocal manipulation still fresh in his memory. And it added a similar affecting moral beauty to the musical beauty of the unforgettable performances.

As for the orchestra, though a number of new faces were to be seen in the string sections, it played again with marvelous beauty and refinement of sonority and execution, except for some poor woodwind-playing in the opening phrases of the Prelude to "Tristan und Isolde." This was something McArthur didn't deal with as efficiently as he did with the matters of communicating his tempos to the orchestra and gearing its playing with the singing.

VANGUARD'S "Elizabethan and Jacobean Music" (Bach Guild 539) offers music and performances that make it an outstanding record. There are songs by Dowland and other composers, of which Dowland's "From Silent Night" and Parsons's "Pandolpho" are especially fine; and instrumental pieces which include Jenkins's superb Pavan and Fantasia and a charming Morley Air for viols, the engaging "My Lady Hunsdon's Puffe" for lute and Farnaby setting of a Johnson Alman for harpsichord—with Farnaby's

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled To the Author in Search of a Publisher. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free.

VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

To New Authors

We will publish, promote, advertise and distribute your book. We are rated officially among the largest leading publishers in the U. S. Our successful plan insures prompt publication. Manuscript reports in one week. No obligation.

Send for free Brochure B for details.

Pageant Press, Inc. 130 W. 42nd St., N.Y.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Variations on "Up Tails All" the only piece I find uninteresting. The counter-tenor of Alfred Deller is agreeable, his inflection of it beautifully sensitive; and the singing is admirably supported by Desmond Dupre's lute and, in "From Silent Night," the viols. The playing of the viols on this record is in fact the first I have ever enjoyed; and that is true also of Gustav Leonhardt's playing of the harpsichord.

Oiseau-Lyre OL-50020 offers Schutz's "Weihnachts-Historie" ("The Christmas Story") sung by German soloists and the Kantorie der Dreikoenigskirche, Frankfurt, with the Orchestra of the Collegium Musicum under Kurt Thomas. The work has lovely writing for the chorus and the solo soprano, in addition to long stretches of recitative for the tenor. In the old R. E. B. performance the soprano part was sung by Charlotte Bloecher with an exquisite purity of tone and style that is not achieved by the soprano in the new performance, who sings well but with tremulousness in her upper register. The other participants are excellent; and the performance is conducted effectively.

PUBLICATIONS

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

ANEURIN BEVAN states his beliefs: "In Place of Fear". 213 page cloth book, 65c. Wellington's, 346 Concord, Belmont, Mass.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS. Let us find them for you. OSTER'S, Dept. C, Box 111, Times Square Station, New York 36, N. Y.

Contributed By The Nation
As A Public Service

Letters

The Squeeze on Farmers

Dear Sirs: Since the end of World War II there has been a kind of spotty farm prosperity that has obscured the general trend toward a weakened farm economy. For a time the market price of hogs was about 100 per cent of parity; prices of cattle, soy beans, and potatoes have also been sporadically quite high owing to temporary shortages. Farmers who have been able to take advantage of specific favorable market situations have made out fairly well, but others are already facing depression conditions.

During the past several years the general trend has been toward lower farm prices while farm expenses have remained high. We can best visualize the squeeze on farmers if we consider two hypothetical farmers, X and Y, and look at their income-outgo picture from 1951 to 1954.

Farmer X is a small farmer who made a gross income of $7,000 in 1951 and had an expense outgo of $4,000, leaving him a net income of $3,000 for that year. In 1954 Farmer X made a gross of only $5,500, and his expenses were still $4,000 if not higher, leaving him only $1,500 net income.

Farmer Y is a middle-sized operator with a year-round hired man and with a larger investment in land and machinery. In 1951 Farmer Y made a $15,000 gross and had expenses of $9,000, leaving him a net income of $6,000 for that year. But in 1954 Farmer Y's gross income dropped to $12,000, with expenses still at $9,000, leaving him only $3,000 in net income.

These figures are fairly typical of the income-outgo picture for small and middle-sized farmers. Even in 1954 with some crops still supported at 90 per cent and with a high cash market for soy beans much of the year, the net income for farmers like X and Y was already inadequate by current American standards. It is clear that an expected 10 per cent drop in farm prices under flexible parity in 1955 will result in a net income cut of over 35 per cent for both X and Y. With the current high level of expenses under mechanized farming, it is clear that either X or Y could be thrown badly in debt if their gross income were cut in half as a result of drought, insects, or floods, as could easily happen.

Middle Western farmers are deeply conscious of the bleak future. A sense of desperation already exists in many families. At the moment, Secretary Benson is roundly hated. Last fall farm voters swung sharply to the Democratic column; but there is already disillusionment with the Democrats now that several Democratic leaders have indicated that they will wait until 1956 (election year) to try to alter Secretary Benson's flexible farm program.

The touch-and-go character of farm sentiment suggests the need for liberals everywhere to support economic equality for farmers. In return, farmers should be invited to participate in the fight for civil rights, for achieving full employment, and for other liberal goals. Liberals need to get behind an economic program for both farmers and labor to give substance to the phrase coined and forgotten by Eisenhower—"prosperity without war."

JAMES M. YOUNGDALE

Benson, Minn.

Associated Authors

Dear Sirs: Kay Boyle's fine "Declaration for '955" in your January 29 issue, following upon the two interesting articles by John Aldridge (October 16 and 23), deserves much thought and discussion by all who cherish literature and culture. It is certainly true that "we who write in America are in grave difficulties now"—difficulties of a moral, social, and literary nature. There are added difficulties for those of us who are "new writers" of liberal and humanist convictions. Not only do we suffer the restraints of commercialism, conformity, and thought control, but we are also effectively cut off from our audience now and—by that token—from the possibility of literary growth. If what we want to say is neither commercial nor capable of being fitted into the tight niche of "experimental" writing, we find ourselves facing quiet strangulation.

The recognition that this is more than a passing or individual experience prompted a group of young authors recently to seek a practical solution. The result was a cooperative publishing group made up of writers and book lovers, Associated Authors. Its object is to bring worth-while books to life at prices the average reader can afford and to overcome the alienation of the writer from his audience by a series of reading-out-loud events and discussions of the books prior to their publication. Inquiries may be addressed to me at P. O. Box 274, Cooper Station, New York 3.

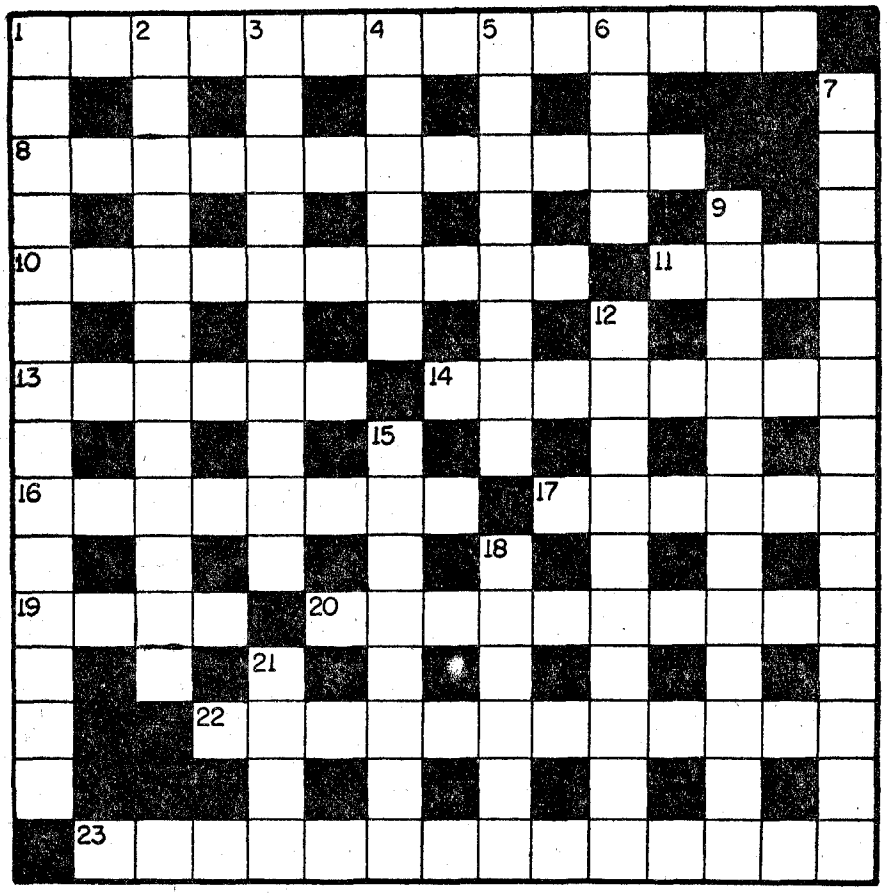
GERDA LERNER,

New York Associated Authors

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 615

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 What some people put on in winter with a liver disorder? (4, 6)

8 Tax which gets mixed up with a high finish. (6, 6)

10 Does the song imply one might find the first feathering by an old one? (10)

11 Did Revere really cry to them? (4)

13 Being aware of no high sound? (6)

14 Went back on the track with a rush, when the returning vehicle is in. (8)

16 This might feel like canvas with a sort of string for holding it together. (8)

17 Such platforms must have steps. (6)

19 Zwieback. (4)

20 Ravel could have been made by this. (10)

22 A few minutes after the lover's quarrel? (6,2,4)

23 Circumflexes, perhaps. (7,7)

DOWN

1 In the old days, it would certainly be a brief candle! (4-6,4)

2 The plane's motion is erratic, but you don't have to follow it. (12)

3 Reputedly like old hickory? (10)

4 Salutation to one under the protection of Henry's wife? (6)

5 Helical. (8)

6 Liquid form of 21. (4)

7 You might accept their work as a matter of habit. (5,9)

9 Foreknowledge. (12)

12 Original trip to copy! (10)

15 It's a scheme to get royalty on board! (8)

18 Game in puzzle form. (6)

21 Vegetable form of 6. (4)

ANSWER TO 614:

ACROSS: 1 SENTRIES; 5 MIDRIB; 9 SEMITIC; 10 EGOISTS; 11 MORCEAU; 12 PRALINE; 13 HIDE-AND-GO-SEEK; 15 ACQUIRED TASTE; 21 TEA ROSE; 22 OBREGON; 23 OUTCAST; 24 APPEASE; 25 FORCES; 26 EYES LEFT. DOWN: 1 SESAME; 2 NOMARCH; 3 RETREAD; 4 ENCOURAGEMENT; 6 ILOKANO; 7 RESPITE; 8 BESPEAKS; 10 EXPEDITIONARY; 14 CASTS OFF; 16 QUARTER; 17 ISOLATE; 18 STRIPES; 19; ENGRAVE; 20 INVENT.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people. 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501.

REAL ESTATE

TAX-EXEMPT INDUSTRIAL SITES
54 Acres — Jersey City
for lease to tenants who may erect their own tax-exempt buildings, or we will build 20,000 to One Million square feet for lease to acceptable tenants.
L. N. ROSENBAUM & SON
565 Fifth Ave., New York 17

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

BOOK PLATE

UNIQUE PROJECT . . your own BOOKPLATE designed by the artist expressly for you. Write for folder. William Lauritzen, 1310 Bolton Road, Pelham Manor, N. Y.

PERSONALS

PRE-SEASON SPECIALS—Outdoor Barbecue $7.50; Insulated Bag $3.49; Saron Contour Chair $23.95; AIR CONDITIONERS! Yes! At lowest prices ever. Standard Brand Dist., 143—4th Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

$70 weekly guaranteed—home, spare time. Simplified mail Bookkeeping. Immediate income — easy! Auditax, 3465ZW, Los Angeles 34.

DOCTORS . . LAWYERS . . TEACHERS . . and other *Nation* readers

Where will they spend their vacations this year?
Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of

THE NATION

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions

Write or phone today for further information.

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

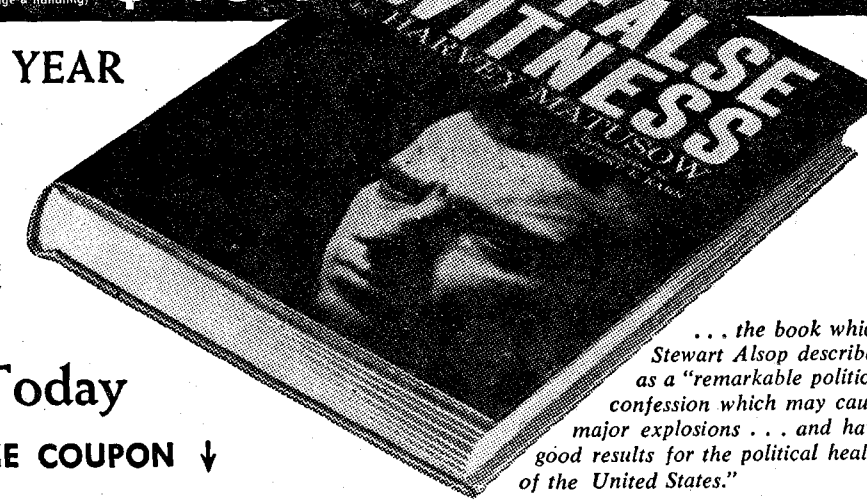
Join Liberty Book Club Now
AND GET THE MATUSOW REVELATIONS FREE

Your enrollment book PLUS *False Witness*—Both for $1.64

(Plus 25¢ for postage & handling)

HOW TO GET 12 GOOD BOOKS A YEAR

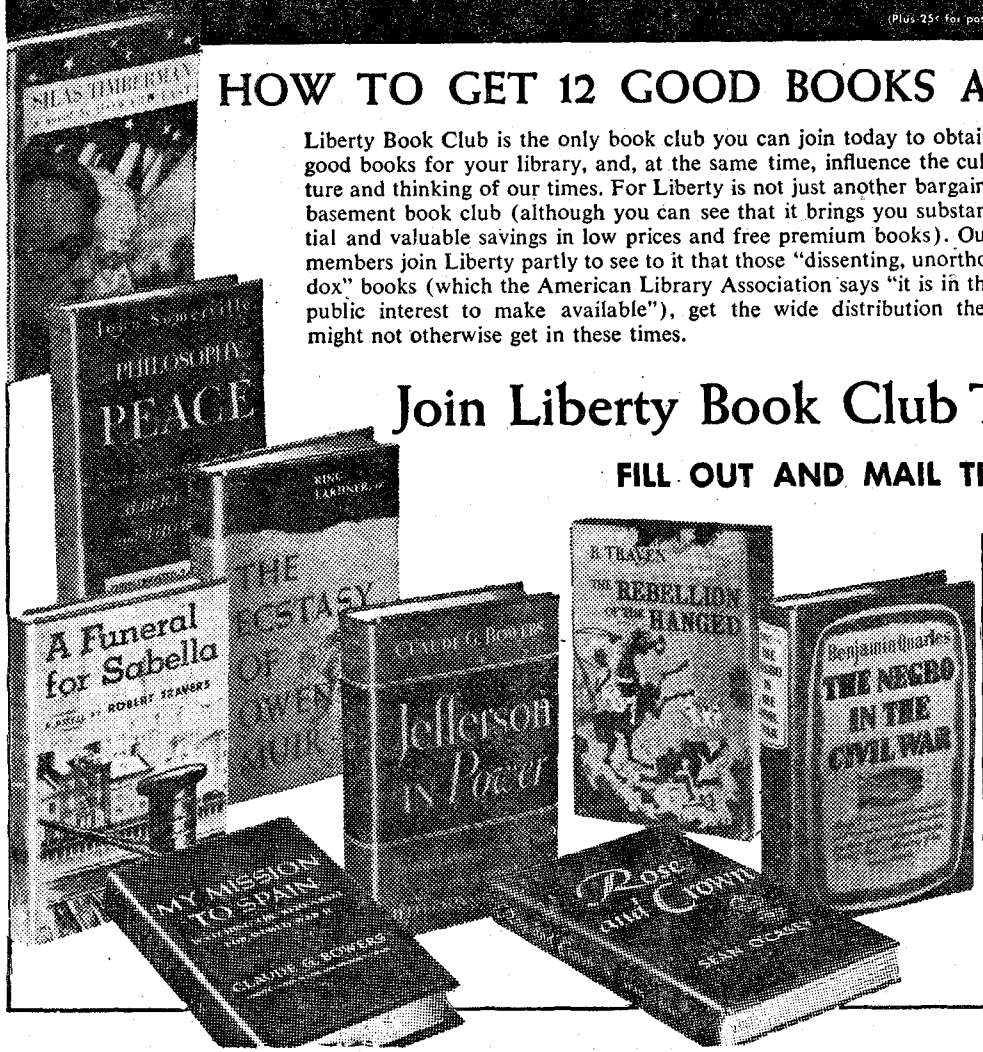
Liberty Book Club is the only book club you can join today to obtain good books for your library, and, at the same time, influence the culture and thinking of our times. For Liberty is not just another bargain-basement book club (although you can see that it brings you substantial and valuable savings in low prices and free premium books). Our members join Liberty partly to see to it that those "dissenting, unorthodox" books (which the American Library Association says "it is in the public interest to make available"), get the wide distribution they might not otherwise get in these times.



. . . the book which Stewart Alsop described as a "remarkable political confession which may cause major explosions . . . and have good results for the political health of the United States."

Join Liberty Book Club Today

FILL OUT AND MAIL THE COUPON ↓



LIBERTY BOOK CLUB, 100 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Please enroll me in Liberty Book Club and send me as my first selection the book I have checked. Please send me FREE OF CHARGE the paper-bound edition of FALSE WITNESS by Harvey Matusow and bill me for the regular selection price of $1.64 (plus 25¢ for postage and handling). I understand that the $1.64 pays for both books.

I understand that forthcoming selections will be described to me in advance in the *Liberty Book Club News* which I will receive each month free of charge. I may decline any selection I do not want merely by returning a printed form.

My only obligation is to accept four (4) selections or alternates the first year I am a member and I may resign any time after accepting four such books.

If I am not completely satisfied I may return my first shipment within seven (7) days, and both membership and bill will be cancelled.

- ☐ **Silas Timberman**
- ☐ **My Mission to Spain**
- ☐ **The Ecstasy of Owen Muir**
- ☐ **The Philosophy of Peace**
- ☐ **Rose and Crown**
- ☐ **The Rebellion of the Hanged**
- ☐ **A Funeral for Sabella**
- ☐ **Jefferson in Power**
- ☐ **The Negro in the Civil War**
- ☐ **'Tis Folly to be Wise**
- ☐ **The Law of the Vultures**

NAME (please print) .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... ZONE STATE

L 100

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED